THE NEW REPUBLIC

Report on the Economy

Helen Hill Miller

An Old Shocker Comes Home

Stanley Kauffmann

Absolutely, Mr. Gallagher?

Gerald W. Johnson

Mustn't Touch TV

Dave Berkman

July 10, 1961, 25 cen

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Education over a Barrel

★ If the desperately needed, $2.5 billion school bill fails in Congress much of the responsibility will lie on the Catholic hierarchy. The bill has passed the Senate but is being held for ransom in the House Rules Committee. The hierarchy has made a condition for approving the bill (which carries no aid for parochial schools) passage of a revised National Defense Education Act (which carries such aid). The aid in the latter is in the form of long-term, low interest rate loans.

Almost certainly if put to the House without strings the school bill would pass. In our guess federal aid to parochial schools if put to the House without strings would fail. The tragedy is that injecting the church issue may kill all school aid, just as the racial issue killed it in 1956.

A strange alliance in the House Rules Committee has the nation over a barrel. This consists of five gloating Republicans and two Dixiecrats, plus two normally liberal, so-called "hierarchy Catholics" Messrs. Delaney (Brooklyn) and O'Neill (Boston). The first seven don't want any federal aid to education at all; the second two want it very much but only on condition that parochial schools get some, a condition laid down by Cardinal Spellman and the hierarchy. Against these nine are six Democrats on the other side, including Rep. Madden of Indiana who is a "non-hierarchy Catholic" like Mr. Kennedy.

It will be a sad day for the Catholic Church, we believe, if the parochial issue kills school aid. Many states and localities have reached the limits of their borrowing capacity; their overall debt has increased 400 percent since the war, that of the federal government only 8 percent. They must have federal aid. More and more economists cite education as a means to reduce unemployment and boost our social capital.

It is an agonizing position for the President. He ardently wants school aid. He is cornered by his own church. His popularity rose with Protestants when he took an independent line after the election. Now he is hedging on NDEA in the direction of paying the ransom. A liberal leader in the House (a Protestant) told us ruefully he advocated "rising above Principle" on parochial aid; in other words passing NDEA in order to get the school bill which he passionately advocates. The natural thing for a politician to do in a case like this, of course, is to compromise. But this is an issue hard for a lot of people to compromise on.

Shooting for the Moon

★ We hear a lot of criticism about Kennedy's race to the moon. Europeans ridicule it. 58 percent of those asked by Dr. Gallup if they favored spending $40 billion to beat Russia to the moon said "No." Put that way we should have voted "No," too.

We don't think that is the issue, however. As we understand it, we are going to the moon anyway. All along, plans of NASA have called for $15 billion to $20 billion over the next five years for space programs. The target was a man on the moon in 1970.

Every new space shot, in a sense, prepares for the moon trip which, in turn, prepares for space travel, a Mars trip and God knows what other fantastic nightmares. A suborbital flight with Commander Shepard has been made. Next comes an orbital flight (the Russians have done that). And it goes on and on – impact landing on moon, flight of planetary spacecraft, prototypes of this and that, "soft" landing on moon and finally, about Stage 16, a manned lunar landing.

What the Administration now proposes is to accelerate the schedule by three years or so, completing it by 1967 instead of 1970. The money for the last three years would be spent in the first seven years, accounting for $7 to $9 billion extra. Kennedy at a press conference said the whole thing might cost $20 billion to $40 billion. Nobody knows. There is at any rate a 50-50 chance of beating the Russians who presumably are doing what we are.

Thus, as we understand it, it's not a choice of spending $40 billion for sending a man to the moon as against spending the same amount for some worthier social target nearer home. It isn't an either-or question at all, except in the sense of whether to try to telescope for propaganda, prestige and psychological reasons a 10-year program into seven years, one which is pretty certain to be pushed anyway.

Just while we were writing this we got a report from a man who is a veteran negotiator with the Russians and who has recently returned. Never in his experience, he says grimly, has he found them so cocky, aggressive and intractable. And significantly, perhaps, he places their change of mood right after the success of sending a man in space. It was a brilliant feat and illustrates the relationship between technical achievement and diplomatic posture.

Kennedy's Composure

★ Kennedy looked like a very handsome young man as he entered his press conference in the big, carpeted State Department amphitheater last week from the side and walked briskly, crutchless, trim, slim and smiling, to the podium. We have all got into the habit of diagnosing and psychoanalyzing him in the past two months, perhaps because of Cuba and such a lot desperately depends on him.

What was going on inside Kennedy's head we don't know, not being a psychiatrist, but he has never seemed so composed, self-possessed and in control of the situation as he dealt with Khrushchev and Nixon and other matters. He used the quiet tut-tut humor of understatement which is perhaps as galling to an opponent as any that can be found. It was a pleasure to find one leader who did not try to meet braggadocio with braggadocio. Kennedy pinned down the importance of accelerated economic growth in the Cold War, and seemed to fix 4.5 percent rate as the US goal. More could have been said but it was a start. We all hope that after a baptism of fire the Administration is getting its second breath.

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This is the second time in a dozen years a friendly Administration has tried to coax Congress to enact price support legislation that will cover all farmers effectively, not just the growers of a few chosen commodities. It happened before when the Brannan Plan was presented, with the full support of President Truman, to an extraordinary joint session of the Senate and House Committees on agriculture more than a dozen years ago. In the ensuing struggle the Farm Bloc was split forever. This split accounts for the major difference in the way President Kennedy's farm program was laid low last week. It was nibbled to bits rather than knocked out.

Early last week the Senate Committee on Agriculture struck out by a voice vote, Title I, which embodied the only new thinking that had been brought to the farm problem in over a decade. This section would have given the Secretary of Agriculture authority to develop price support and production-control programs for each farm commodity separately, with the assistance of committees of the farmers directly concerned. As a further safeguard, the approval of two-thirds of the particular growers, voting in a referendum, would have been required before the program could be presented to the Congress – which might then disapprove it, or allow the program to become law. Later in the week the House Agriculture Committee rejected the same section by a vote of 20 to 15, and in neither case were these straight party votes. Republicans and Southern Democrats (with one exception in the House) stood shoulder to shoulder on the nays.

The one nationwide farm organization that opposed the program, the Farm Bureau Federation (originally responsible for the failure of the Brannan Plan) played a minor part this year. The Bureau's dislike of the Kennedy proposal had been advertised far and wide when it was still only a speech by Candidate Kennedy last fall, and this hostility was weighed and discounted by Secretary of Agriculture Freeman as early as last January when in making up the list of appointments he deliberately chose the head of the only State Farm Bureau that endorsed the new program to be a member of his official family. The remaining nationwide farm organizations endorsed the program, but their membership is much smaller than that of the Federation.

The nibbling was done at the urging of commodity associations representing growers of a single crop, or in some cases a few related products. The line-up, when related to the value of the output produced by the members of these one-crop groups, reveals where the

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"Now, Cousin, Don't Bite the Hand That Feeds You."

real strength in American agriculture lies.

The several commodity groups who represent wheat farmers were all in favor of the Administration's bill, but wheat accounts for only slightly more than 6 percent of total cash receipts by farmers. It is somewhat more difficult to identify the organizational response of corn and other feed grain growers to this legislation because most corn is fed to livestock by the farmers who produce it; that is, most of this crop is sold in the form of hogs, cattle, poultry and dairy products.

Livestock producers were represented at the hearings by the American National Cattlemen's Association, the National Livestock Feeders Association, and the National Livestock Producer's Association. The output of this section of the farm economy accounts for 23 percent of total cash receipts. All were in opposition.

The National Milk Producer's Federation, the nationwide association of dairymen's marketing cooperatives, asked for seven major changes in the bill. In the circumstances, this amounted to opposition. Dairymen account for 14 percent of total cash farm receipts.

The American Poultry and Hatchery Federation and virtually all of the other poultry groups – producing about eight percent of the total value of agricultural output – objected to an important provision which would have enabled the Secretary of Agriculture to develop effective production control programs in cooperation with local committees of farmers.

The National Cotton Council likewise appeared as an unfriendly witness. This commodity represents about 7.5 percent of the value of farm output. Arraigned against the President and Secretary Freeman also were the growers of fruits and vegetables, whose organizations are too numerous to list; their products bring in about five percent of the total cash receipts of farmers.

Viewing this parade of negation a city citizen may wonder whether there is such a thing as a farm *community* with a single interest that can be advanced by one comprehensive piece of legislation. If there is, certainly none of the major farm organizations represents it, for they disagree among themselves sharply. As for the commodity groups, they will not endorse, apparently, any comprehensive price-support legislation that will at the same time really control their output in order to protect taxpayers and consumers. But such controls are the price of stability. And if the nation is going to deal rationally with its farmers in the future, it will have to insist that the farmers make this choice: effective controls and security, or no controls and the uncertain profits an unregulated market will bring.

Kuwait – Apple of Discord

Kuwait is covetable, and Premier Kassem of Iraq has been rash enough to say he covets it, thereby angering the sundry Arab rulers who want it too. Twenty years ago, it was a village on a waterless spit at the top of the Persian Gulf, with no surface assets except a bay and a good anchorage on an otherwise featureless and depressing coast. Today, it is a town dripping with oil, glistening with new schools and mosques, and bulging with warehouses. It distills seawater on a huge scale so that the poor may drink from push-button fountains and the rich may wash their Cadillacs, and its hot pavements are a currency mart where squatting citizens dip into suitcases to change dollars after a lightning mental calculation into rials, piastres or marks.

Kassem covets its harbor as much as its oil, for Iraq has plenty of the last, but no good port, or even a site for one. Were the two governments on reasonable terms, they could long ago have made a deal profitable to both – a flat swap of services whereby Kuwait could have piped cheap water the mere 50 miles from Iraq's abundant river, and Iraq could have piped its oil the same distance to a deep-water terminal on Kuwait bay. But this project, advanced for years by all outsiders, has been killed by mutual mistrust; it is not likely to grow less after Kassem's current outburst.

The immediate cause of his announcement that Ku-

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wait is an Iraqi province was a British gesture of disimperialism. For 60 years (dating from their urge to keep the Czar and the Kaiser out of the Indian Ocean) the British have exercised their protection over Kuwait. It has a competent ruling family, and they have kept out of its internal affairs, but they have handled all its foreign policy, and more than once preserved it from invasion. But their original reasons for affording it protection have worn thin. Moreover, young and newly-educated Kuwaitis resented them, and Cairo radio misrepresented them, and they found themselves, willy-nilly, regarded as backing an *ancien regime* against its angry young men. They disliked the implication and were getting no advantage out of the transaction. Slowly, silently and by dignified arrangement, therefore, the British have divested themselves of their responsibilities. All they were now bound to do was to come to Kuwait's aid if invited to do so, as they have been. Kuwait was free *not* to invite them in; it is also free to join the Arab League, send an ambassador to Washington, or invite the Soviet Union to install a consulate. It is likely to do things in that order.

But these legal changes called for announcement, and Kassem, who was hard up for a diversion for his grumbling populace, thought he could provide one and staked his claim. The result could have been foretold by a cleverer man; immediately, the Kuwaitis, ruler and ruled, closed their ranks; a Saudi general called in to say that troops would be available in the event of Iraqi invasion; Nasser said, "No Annexations"; and the British Marines landed promptly – and not, as the US had done earlier in Jordan – for fear of a civil war. Kassem played himself into a minority of one.

This storm in a tea-cup has one rankling consequence for the White House. President Kennedy, like other new brooms before him, has undertaken to try to tidy up the remains of the Palestine quarrel. What he suggested was a combined operation to settle the Arab refugees, whom he reckoned should be shared by outsiders, the Arab states and Israel. Mr. Ben-Gurion, knowing for sure that the Arabs would refuse their quota, felt safe in agreeing to take 20 percent. He was soon justified. Arab replies to the Kennedy communication have been cold, and have been used to remind him that they feel as strongly as ever about the very existence of Israel. Even before the Kuwait storm broke, he had little chance of getting them to be magnanimous to the unhappy refugees. Now that they are quarreling among themselves, the chances vanish. For their Palestine grievance is still their chief rallying cry, and is a subject on which no Arab government can afford to capitulate to an outsider without losing ground with all its fellows. For the time being, therefore, there is little to be done about the Middle East but leave it to shake its own kaleidoscope.

Same Game in Berlin

The game is the same. "The Soviets would like to force the Westerners out of Berlin," *The New Republic* reported on July 26, 1948, "in order to consolidate all of Eastern Germany, both economically and militarily, as a permanent threat to the existence of the Western German state." Ten years later, on November 24, 1958, it was noted that the Soviet Government "considers itself entitled to hand over its rights in Berlin to its East German satellite." "On the maintenance of West Berlin's freedom," *The New Republic* said three months later, "we ought now to support . . . a policy of quiet firmness backed by preparations for limited military operations that will not be lost in the Kremlin." And on March 30, 1959: "Mr. Eisenhower has made it clear that we are not going to be pushed out of Berlin by threats; Mr. Khrushchev has responded by denying that he ever issued an ultimatum and by seeming to recognize our present occupation rights. . . . It was to be assumed all along that Mr. Khrushchev's real purpose in creating the Berlin scare was to make the West negotiate under pressure, and in particular to use the threat to our position in Berlin in order to force recognition of the East German Communist regime as permanent and legitimate. The threat is still there, in case the negotiations fail to produce the result desired by the Kremlin; for in that case, Mr. Khrushchev has told us, he will consider himself entitled to conclude a separate peace with the East German Government and will treat our occupation rights as null and void thereafter."

That is where we were and that is where we are. The United States, Britain and France cannot prevent the Russians from signing whatever treaty they choose to sign with the East Germans; nor is this cause for the wild alarms which have been sounded. On the other hand, the Western powers are under no obligation or compulsion or even threat to do likewise. What we are obliged to do is to prevent the takeover of West Berlin by economic strangulation, subversion or military force. This obligation is not inconsistent with negotiating with the Russians or with the East Germans or with anyone else. It is not incompatible with a new treaty certifying the continued right of West Berliners to govern themselves and the West's right to access to that city – a treaty that might be endorsed by the United Nations and guaranteed by the token presence of military contingents from the Four Powers. "We shall always be ready," the President said last week, "to discuss any proposals which would give increased protection to the right of the people of Berlin to exercise their independent choice as free men."

If the Russians wish East German authorities to stamp travel documents along the routes to Berlin, let them be stamped by East Germans. But if the East Ger-

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mans, acting on their own or at the instigation of the Soviet Union, obstruct that traffic, let the East Germans understand that such obstruction will be contested.

The Muddy Congo

The world press had begun to take on an almost lyrical tone in describing the new prospects for stability in the Congo, when Katanga's Moishe Tshombe scoffingly shattered this image last week by buying himself out of Leopoldville's clutches and then promptly repudiating his agreement to cooperate in re-establishing a parliamentary national government.

This leaves President Joseph Kasavubu's central government (and all those myriad outsiders who advise it) on the horns of a dilemma. If Kasavubu goes ahead and convenes Parliament without the Katanga deputies, it will be touch-and-go whether the loosely-united "moderates" loyal to the center will be able to maintain the upper hand. Estimates of dissident Antoine Gizenga's voting strength in the Congolese National Assembly now run between 30 and 55, depending upon whom one talks to and on what day. Out of 137 original deputies elected in the pre-independence national elections of May, 1960, at least nine are now dead. Others have wandered off and the total number of absentees from a session held at this time, even under strong UN physical protection, is projected at about 50.

On the other hand, the whole Congo could be plunged into bitter civil war if the central government now reneges on the agreements so painstakingly put together with Gizenga during recent weeks on the re-establishment of parliamentary rule. These agreements, which are largely the product of the patience, tact, and sheer hard work of UN Representative Dr. Sture Linner and his Ghanaian, Tunisian, and Swiss assistants, have apparently even gone so far as to include a meeting of minds on a suitable compromise Prime Minister to replace the unpopular incumbent, Joseph Ileo. Cyrilla Adoula, the Minister of Interior in the present cabinet, is said to have passed muster in both camps.

In these circumstances, it seems likely that Kasavubu will mark time temporarily on the reopening of Parliament, meanwhile putting all pressure possible on Tshombe to awaken him to the ramifications for Katanga as well as the rest of the Congo of a Gizenga majority. For those ramifications include a highly-centralized government on the Ghana and Guinea pattern, rather than a federal government permitting Katanga a degree of local autonomy. It is to be fervently hoped that the Kasavubu government – and perhaps more precisely its external advisers – will continue to work toward the goal of achieving the reconciliation rather than the destruction of the more extreme Gizenga forces. There will be many pressures on the central government to institutionalize its predominance at this critical time by extra-legal means. But this would produce a violent reaction elsewhere in Africa and would almost certainly bring overt material support to Gizenga from the Casablanca Powers – or worse.

In this connection, it is important to note that the outside support which the Gizenga regime in Stanleyville has so far received has been almost exclusively verbal; and that the lines which divide the Stanleyville "radicals" from the Leopoldville "moderates" are far murkier than journalistic labels would suggest. There are "Lumumbaists" serving Kasavubu, and Gizenga's group is far from ideologically uniform. Surprising shifts are always in the making. The degree of consensus at the edges of these two camps provides the only visible hope in creating a Congo capable of escaping both the "neo-colonialist" and "pro-Soviet" stamp.

United States policy toward this new set of Congo problems will perhaps be clearer with the appointment of a new Ambassador to replace controversial Clare Timberlake, who fortunately returned home.

Golden Whale of the West

The California legislature has had the pleasant though complicated task of redistricting to seat the 38 Congressmen who will be elected in 1962, eight more than at present. This will be the nation's second largest delegation in the House of Representatives, only New York's being larger; and it re-emphasizes how colossally California towers over the West in population, wealth and power. Like a whale in a pond, a flip of her tail may stun the smaller fish.

Although California in 1963 will have as many Representatives as the 15 other Western and Rocky Mountain states combined, which together have almost exactly half the nation's area, even this is not quite fair to California on the population basis, since her 15.7 million people by the 1960 census number almost a million more than the rest of the 15 states can count.

California outmatches the rest of the West in other ways too. Its people had nearly $44 billion in personal income in 1960, against about $35 billion for all the other 15. Taxable real property in California had a market value of about $85 billion (1956); in the other 15 states the total was less than $65 billion. California in 1958 paid about $7.7 billion in federal taxes, as against about $5.5 billion for the others. She gained more than five million in population between 1950 and 1960, as against about 2.9 million for the others.

This dominance of size, resources and political power means that everything California does, political or economic, reverberates throughout the region. Fear of

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the careless or predatory slap of the golden whale's tail may explain a lot of politics of the West, as in the bitter 50-year fight over the insufficient waters of the Colorado River, or in the looming fight over the plentiful waters of the Columbia, and the Northwest's resistance to exporting even surplus power to California.

In 1951 the Republicans gerrymandered districts in several states which later went Democratic; thus the Republican members in the House have consistently run higher than they are likely to after reapportionment next year. Despite a nearly two-to-one Democratic registration, California sent only a bare majority of Democrats to the House in the 50's; the 1960 election produced 16 Democratic Congressmen and 14 Republican. But today the State Legislature is in Democratic hands, and the Republicans complain to heaven that they are to be gerrymandered out of their fair share of House seats. One estimate is that in 1962 California may well elect 27 Democrats to Congress out of 38. And a net gain of 11 Democrats from California alone – plus smaller gains from other Northern states where redistricting has been in Democratic hands since 1951 – might go far toward spoiling Republican hopes for decisive Congressional gains next year.

CIA Watchdog

The White House announcement that Gen. Maxwell Taylor will serve as the President's Military Representative and as an adviser in "intelligence fields" with "the responsibility of watching the function of the intelligence apparatus of the government to assure the President that it meets the future needs of the government," gives no diagram of what will finally be done with CIA, though Mr. Kennedy has said, "We may have some changes." The changes presumably include the departure of Allen Dulles, the relocating of paramilitary functions and the separation of intelligence-gathering from the assessment of what is gathered. But this is still to come. While CIA has been shaken, it has not yet been shaken up; the Agency is going ahead with plans to move into its mammoth, new headquarters in September.

The President wishes to be certain of the reliability of the intelligence he is given; he wants to be sure that secret operations are kept secret, are intelligently directed and are consistent with foreign policies of the Administration. That is a tall order.

No one man, even with a considerable staff (which General Taylor will not have), could keep close watch over the thousands of underground CIA enterprises. A Presidential watchdog is needed. But what is needed more is a thorough inventory and reorganization of the establishment which is to be watched.

Diplomacy by Evasion

Credulity is strained by a report of a scheme being worked out for stalling one more year on the issue of Chinese representation in the United Nations. The reported plan involves offering the Peking regime a seat in the General Assembly along with the Nationalist regime, with the latter retaining the franchise in the Security Council. "The presumption behind the move is that Peking would reject the proposal," so a news account ran. "Such a rejection, it is felt, would place the responsibility for Peking's absence from the United Nations on the Communist regime."

The idea, then, is that Washington would be in a position to say to the world: "See! We made an offer. We knew it would be unacceptable. It was."

Everett McKinley Dirksen, the redoubtable Republican leader in the Senate, has responded. He spoke up about mobilizing public opinion against any change in the *status quo* – thus distilling into its very essence his version of statesmanship.

The shortcoming of the plan is that it evades the central question, which is the disposition of Taiwan, with its population not only of the Nationalist Chinese but also the far more numerous Taiwanese. Peking has made explicit its demand for cession of that area and its people before coming to terms between itself and the United Nations. Some day the other governments in the UN will have to face up to what that demand would entail in compelling the island populace to submit to mainland rule. So far the United States has hugged to itself that burden of paradoxes. Our error has been in our undeviating aversion to letting the subject be aired. What cynically passes for "good politics" has prevented serious, open debate. We can only further impair our own best interests by making a phony offer that would only lead to an artificial debate on secondary aspects of the China problem.

Caribbean Federation

If all goes well, the Federation of the West Indies will be launched as an independent state on May 31, 1962 – and we will then face a new set of problems in the troubled Caribbean. The Federation was created three years ago to unite 10 island territories under British sovereignty, but the larger islands on whose active support the Federation depends have so far failed to commit themselves to it whole-heartedly. Jamaica, with half of the Federation's three million population, has concentrated on building up its own economy behind fairly high tariff walls. Trinidad, with over 800,000 people is by far the richest island, and the second largest oil producer in the British Commonwealth; it has so far

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been unwilling to put more than a tiny share of its wealth at the disposal of the poorer islands.

This local nationalism is not surprising, since the 10 islands had little contact with one another until after the Second World War, and there are big differences of culture as well as wealth between them. Nevertheless, the English language and a long period of British rule have given them much in common compared with the other Caribbean islands.

Personal rivalries inevitably play a part in the attitude to federation, but the biggest problem is economic. All the islands are poor, with increasing populations, and the larger ones have seen little interest in slowing down their own growth for the sake of helping the rest. The removal of internal tariffs would expose some of the industries lately built up to dangerous competition; and these secondary industries are essential if the Federation is to reduce its dependence on crops like sugar which are vulnerable to fluctuations in the world market. Finally the free movement of labor within the Federation would make the more prosperous islands a magnet for the unemployed elsewhere, thus threatening to cancel out the benefits of economic growth.

All this means that the West Indian Federation is no exception to the rule governing all the developing areas – that its political stability will depend for many years on economic aid from the richer countries of the West. In the short run, the Federation may not even survive another 12 months unless the smaller islands receive special assistance from outside. London is already planning such aid, and Washington has responded quickly to an appeal for cooperation. There is one field, however, in which Britain and the United States will be required to help the Federation, which may impose serious strains on their internal politics. West Indian emigration to Britain has already reached such proportions that there is a growing demand for some control over it. The US has of course faced this problem in the large number of Puerto Ricans who have come to these shores. Yet unless the surplus population of the Federation has a chance of emigrating elsewhere it will stifle any hope of economic progress.

THE CHARMED CIRCLE OF FUTILE POLITICS

Iranian Merry-Go-Round

Cairo

The amazing thing about Iran is that an entrenched political elite, and a disunited one at that, trained only in traditional politicking and lacking the economic and technical skills necessary for creating orderly change, has managed to hang on and hold the country together.

But there is some explanation for the persistence of this system, and some consolation, too, in the fact that the Communists have been no more successful than we in getting it off dead center. The Tudeh Party was very vigorous during the period of the Soviet occupation of northern Iran, but it declined thereafter. It renewed its activity during the Mossadegh period, and alarmed the Western powers considerably. Nevertheless, the Tudeh leaders did not act to prevent Mossadegh's fall, and as a consequence many nationalist members were disillusioned and the party split. In the aftermath of the Shah's return to power, the party's back was broken by assiduous police work and with the assistance of a great many confessions implicating hundreds of army officers. The top Communist leaders fled to the Soviet Union, Moscow became disgusted with the inconstancy of Iran's underpriviledged intelligentsia, and Peking began to broadcast that the party had been betrayed by British agents. The whole of the inside story has not yet come out, but it appears that the Communists have had to begin rebuilding from the ground up.

The difficulties of the Communists illustrate in a relatively mild form the problems of every political party or would-be national movement in Iran. Some people call it national character and delight in describing the charming chaos. More accurately, the problem is sociological. Iranians still accord their primary loyalties to their families and somewhat less to traditional religious, craft or local groups. Mutual obligations are rarely built on common political ideas or even on common interests. Outside of the traditionally ordered family relationship, it is every man for himself. Every individual, from Shah to taxi-driver, may agree that something must be done, costly advisers may be imported, reasonable economic plans drawn up, political parties may be established and general elections held; but all that results is more extreme paradox.

In so delicately balanced a structure, all the parts must move in the same direction if stability is to be

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preserved; or to put the matter in a less mechanistic form, there must be sufficient confidence and mutual understanding among the various influential groups so that no one group feels it is being victimized by the call for reform. There is no such confidence today.

Before Mossadegh's fall, the Shah depended upon the Majlis (the lower house of the parliament) to provide him with a Prime Minister, and it did so at the rate of about one a year. Then as now, the Majlis was comprised of independently influential persons and a few dependent political clients. They might agree on a Prime Minister, but not for long. Now the Shah no longer depends upon the Majlis' vote of preference, he chooses the Prime Minister himself and the Majlis supports the cabinet until the Shah decides otherwise.

At the risk of oversimplifying, it can be said that the process of appointing a Prime Minister works something like this: (1) the events of the past 15 years have produced a number of complicated situations quite beyond the control of the leading personalities of Iran; (2) these personalities attempted to adjust as best they could to those events, seeking at once to resolve problems and to derive the greatest political benefits for themselves; (3) in the course of this adjustment, the most outstanding of these personalities acquired the reputation of being liberal or conservative, of being nationalistic or religious, of being pro-East or pro-West, of favoring civil servants and teachers or of favoring the bazaar and commercial groups; (4) as each new situation arises, the Shah chooses one of the "ministrables" waiting on the sidelines for his try; (5) every Prime Minister nowadays tries to anticipate what the Shah wants while satisfying both the nationalistic middle classes on the one hand and the two super-powers on the other; (6) if he fails to resolve the problem of the day, the Prime Minister is dismissed and must bear the blame; (7) if he does resolve the problem he must make way for the man who best suits the situation that has been newly created.

Under these circumstances there is no premium on political loyalty, nor on ideological solidarity. Within the narrow elite, temporary alliances may be formed, but all are essentially rivals. There is no banding together to protect the upper class; this end is accomplished by each seeking to weaken the confidence of the Shah in the Prime Minister who they think is going too far. Unfortunately, the Shah's own bitter experiences render him prone to believe the worst, so he never gives his Prime Minister his complete support. Even the concept of enlightened self-interest has little meaning here.

In the meantime there is grave dissatisfaction among the urban classes. Neither the uneducated and unskilled nor the highly-educated sons of the aristocracy are happy, but the greatest alienation exists among the teachers, the students, and among civil servants. Army officers are relatively well treated as are the police, but even they are not content. Lack of faith in the government is endemic, and expectations about the future are pessimistic. But, with the exception of the teachers these groups are largely unorganized and pose no direct threat. The nationalist parties, always small, are now vestigial remains of what existed under Mossadegh. The nationalists looked in vain for a leader to replace him and to speak out for them, but they found only Ali Amini and Allah Yar Saleh sitting at home discussing reform and waiting until the situation grew bad enough for the Shah to call on them.

Since Mossadegh's fall, each succeeding Prime Minister has had a somewhat more liberal reputation than his predecessor. But Prime Ministers change quickly, and there are not many left to choose from before the cycle swings to the far right again.

There appears to be little the US can do. If we refuse to support the present regime it may collapse and what will take its place is anybody's guess. If we do support it, we lose friends among the nationalist classes and encourage continued drift. If we press for reforms we increase the Shah's already substantial suspicion that we would like to replace him.

We have given Iran numerous guarantees against Soviet aggression, but we cannot reinsure the Shah against Soviet propaganda broadcasts. Nor can we guarantee that middle-class political despair will not turn into more active opposition. The answer is up to the Shah himself. He alone can break the charmed circle of shrewd political manipulation which gives him a false sense of security. The landed politicians do not protect him from the military and they cannot win the confidence of the urban classes. What is needed is an act of courage that will create a political change of high visual impact. The Shah must destroy his own delicately balanced structure himself and encourage the building of something more permanent. Land reform, organizing middle-class occupational and professional groups, stepping up the domestic information program, cutting luxury imports, restarting development programs, these are some of the things needed.

But this is dangerous advice, and should not be followed precipitously. To succeed there must first be assembled a group which is committed to change and capable of carrying it out against strong traditional opposition. Such people are few in Iran; still they exist. There are many salon reformers and public officials with PhD's who anxiously await the call. Iran is not without devoted sons whom the Shah must seek out.

Leonard Binder

Mr. Binder *is the author of* Religion and Politics in Pakistan; *his book on the politics of Iran is scheduled for early publication.*

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Absolutely, Mr. Gallagher?

We are absolutely committed to a last-ditch defense of West Berlin. Everybody says so, and the assertion will not be challenged in this place.

It would be interesting, though, if some high authority would spell out, for the benefit of the kindergarten class in politics, just when and how the West Berliners obtained such an iron-bound claim on our loyalty. This year's new voters were five years of age at the time of the Berlin settlement, and at that age their interest in foreign affairs must have been languid. But if the commitment involves us in war they, and their juniors, will have to fight it; which would seem to entitle them to full information on the subject.

About part of it there is no difficulty. The joint occupation of Berlin was agreed upon by the heads of the victorious states at the end of World War II. These were Mr. Truman, Mr. Attlee and Mr. Stalin. But details of the arrangement were left to the Allied Control Council, on which our representative was General Eisenhower. The West goofed in providing for the partition of the city without providing an access corridor to our part of it. Why it goofed is hard to say, but the rest of it is easily understood. The Western powers assumed the military occupation of Germany would be brief and it was desirable for us to have a foothold in the capital while the arrangements for withdrawal were being worked out. Only gradually did we realize the Russians intended to make their hold permanent.

But all these arrangements had reference to our own safety and convenience. No obligation, legal or moral, to the people of West Berlin figured. To the bitter end they had remained loyal to our enemy, the Hitler regime. They certainly did not establish a claim on our consideration by adhering to our enemies; so the question is, when and how did they establish it?

There are reasons for continuing to occupy our sector of West Berlin. It is an excellent outpost from which to annoy and frustrate the Russians, which is an important consideration in any war, cold or hot. Retention of such an outpost justifies a considerable, although not unlimited, military risk. From the strictly military standpoint West Berlin is, of course, horribly exposed, and some strategists contend that the exposure more than balances the advantages gained by clinging to it.

Politically our occupation of part of Berlin is advantageous only during the continuance of the Cold War but while it continues the advantage is considerable.

These reasons for continuing the occupation are perfectly sound, but they are relative, not absolute. Circumstances might arise in which they would become invalid – that is to say, the time may come when the obvious risk will outweigh the possible gain. But this is to be determined by cold calculation, based on the facts as they may exist at the time.

Everybody says, though, that there is another consideration that is absolute, being neither military nor political, but moral. It is our obligation to defend the people of West Berlin against Communist domination, at no matter what cost to ourselves. Whence and when did this obligation arise? As long as we are committed to the theory that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and from no other source, we are bound to oppose Communism anywhere and everywhere. But general opposition does not deprive us of the right to choose the specific points at which we shall make a stand and to refrain from fighting at a point that is indefensible. To argue otherwise would be to say that we must fight at times and places selected by the enemy, which is nonsense.

The attacks on Senator Mansfield, when he suggested that the present arrangement may no longer be to our advantage, revealed the existence of widespread belief that this country is somehow honor bound to protect Berlin. But he who asserts that the country is under moral compulsion to pursue any course, regardless of its own interests, should be clear in his own mind, and be able to make clear to others, the precise way in which this obligation was incurred.

Nor is mere opinion expressed by some private individual enough. The explanation should be made by higher authority, commissioned to speak in the name of the nation – certainly by no less a personage than the Secretary of State, preferably, in a matter so serious, by the President. Mr. Truman, Mr. Eisenhower, and Mr. Kennedy have all referred somewhat vaguely to our duty to the West Berliners; but none has spelled out either the extent or the origin of that obligation. Yet until we understand exactly how it came to be and what it implies, intelligent debate is impossible, and we shall have only such fulminations as were directed at Senator Mansfield. And fulminating is no substitute for debate at a time like this.

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Mustn't Touch Television

by Dave Berkman

What has bothered the radio-TV executives most about the new Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission is Newton Minow's repeated warnings that licenses will no longer be automatically renewed; that the Commission will first carefully scrutinize a station's past programming. To this, the industry has cried, "Censorship!" In crude terms, what this comes to mean is that because of the free speech and press guarantees of the First Amendment, anything which prevents anyone from "publishing" (broadcasting) without first obtaining a government license to operate his "press" (transmitter) constitutes the most repugnant form of censorship: prior restraint!

The argument is nonsense, and for this reason: Whereas (in theory at least) anyone can buy a press (or a mimeograph machine), find space somewhere in our three million square miles to bolt it down and publish what he wants, the radio spectrum is spatially limited. It is like a straight line of a given length upon which one can place so many objects before they begin to crowd each other out. This is what happened in the Twenties when so many stations took to the air; crowding meant that few could be heard. Private industry then begged to be regulated, and in 1927, Congress obliged by creating the Federal Radio Commission, which it supplanted seven years later with the FCC.

Because frequencies were so few and so commercially valuable, Congress went out of its way in the Acts setting up these agencies to say that the spectrum belongs to *all* the people. This was the basis of the government's right to license broadcasters since it is the only representative of "all." The standard Congress instructed the FRC, and now the FCC, to use in deciding who would be granted a license for the temporary use of a channel, was "the public interest, convenience or necessity." To insure that no private party could ever claim he received proprietary or perpetual rights to the channel his grant covered, it wrote into the Communications Act of 1934 that "No license shall be construed to create any rights beyond the terms, conditions and period of the license." It also required licensees to sign a waiver "of any claim to the use of a particular frequency . . . because of the previous use of the same."

Why, then, would CBS pay a record $20 million for WCAU (AM-FM-TV) Philadelphia, when its land and plant was worth only about $5 million? Certainly not for the mere three years' use to which its then current license entitled it. Yet legally, this was all CBS had a right to expect.

This is big money and it is understandable why the industry has tried to persuade the press and the public that it really does own the frequencies to which it only has temporary title; but it defies comprehension how it also managed to convince a Commission which must know better that to revoke or refuse renewal of a license constitutes a seizure of private property without due process of law! And it has convinced the FCC.

Educational television has been held back nationally for years by the lack of outlets in New York and Los Angeles, both of which have seven commercial TV stations. Why? Because the Commission chose to accept the industry view that the right of a private party to exploit a publicly-owned resource for private gain is apparently more in "the public interest" than providing the 22 million people in these markets with at least one real alternative to six commercial outlets. The FCC has automatically renewed the licenses of the seven stations in both cities – including an outlet in New York which does little more than re-run the *same* feature film 20 times a week.

Last year, network spokesmen, testifying before both the FCC and Congressional committees in the aftermath of the quiz and payola scandals, piously swore to improve their programming; and at the very same time they published the new season's depressing schedule with its near-total emphasis on formula comedies, Westerns and crime shows. There wasn't a peep from the FCC. Yet here was a golden chance to clear away some of the junk. All the FCC had to do was threaten to, or actually revoke the license of just one affiliate station up for renewal – specifically for the imbalance in its network offerings. The result would have been a demand by the affiliated stations of all three chains for immediate and drastic changes in ABC, CBS and NBC programming. (The FCC could still do it: tentative advance schedules for next season reveal that 70 percent or 44 of the 63 prime-time hours of network offerings between 7:30 and 10:30 p.m. EST, will consist of the same three "genre." *During these same 63 hours, exactly one-half hour will be devoted to a regularly scheduled program dealing with vital public affairs!)*

Since the FCC has stated that a licensee "enter[ing]

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into a contract which limits his ability to make the best use of the . . . facility assigned him . . . is not serving the public interest," why does it allow local stations to contractually abrogate (or "option") control of their programming to the networks for up to 10 hours a day – including the two-and-a-half prime hours? Moreover, Chairman Minow has pointed out that even this 10 hours is often just a minimum; many stations carry almost anything the networks offer them – except quality public-service programs, usually unsponsored, for which they substitute a locally-sponsored syndicated film series, e.g., *Highway Patrol.*

Under FCC rules, a local station has the right to reject any single program even within "option time," but it seldom does. Southern outlets, however, will cut the network tie when the chains offer "specials" dealing with the race question – despite the fact that such programs may present views both of, and *in* the interest of Negro viewers who may constitute over half the stations' audience. Some might say *this* is censorship, which brings us back to the central controversy.

Through its trade organization, the National Association of Broadcasters, the industry contends that FCC jurisdiction is limited to technical matters. It can only revoke, or refuse to renew a license for violations of technical standards. *Any* consideration of programming, even in initial licensing decisions, is tantamount to censorship – which the Communications Act expressly forbids. Now if this were true, on what grounds could the Commission choose between two applicants competing for the chance to exploit commercially the same publicly-owned frequency? Technical superiority alone? Obviously not. The choice finally will and must be influenced by the only "tangible product" which broadcasting offers: programs. This has been the view of the Supreme Court, which has upheld the Commission's right – in fact obligation – to consider programming and has pointed out the absurdity of the industry's counter-view. In the NBC case, Justice Frankfurter (for the majority) wrote that the FCC cannot be restricted "merely to the supervision of the traffic. [The Communications Act] puts upon the Commission the burden of *determining the composition of that traffic.*"

But then, if the majority of the FCC has felt it need not obey the laws of Congress, why should it feel it has to obey the Court? In 27 years it has *never* revoked or refused to renew a station's license on the grounds of program imbalance. It renewed the license of one of the West Coast Don Lee Network-owned stations even after – and here I quote the FCC's own Barrow Study Commission Report – "a well-documented record showed a clear violation of . . . [FCC] rules" forbidding certain monopolistic practices. The Commission stated that "having the alternative of renewing the license or denying such renewal, it considered the latter course of action too harsh. . . ."

This is why so few stations are conforming to the rules Minow wants to enforce, though they are and have been the official policy of the Commission as a whole for the past 15 years, ever since the publication of the famous "Blue Book." The appearance of the "Blue Book" also generated a cyclone of self-interested industry propaganda, aimed at convincing the press and the public that governmental censorship of broadcasting was imminent. Actually, all the FCC was then asking, as Minow is now, was for more diversity in programming – which is the opposite of censorship.

It is indicative, by the way, of the depth of the industry's sincerity on this score, that the NAB has been more concerned with imaginary "threats" of censorship in the "Blue Book" and Minow's statements than it has about the real thing. It said not a word when the FCC attempted to revoke former New Deal official Edward Lamb's TV station license on the grounds he was an ex-Communist – even after the chief prosecution witness admitted she perjured herself; nor did it express any concern when the high-brow, listener-supported Pacifica stations were queried last year about the broadcast of some poems by the "Beat poet" Ferlinghetti.

But enough of the past.

Will the future see the FCC's resolve to further the "public interest" strengthened? Minow's words would seem to promise that. But he casts only one of seven votes – and it will take four more years, barring deaths or resignations, before there is a Kennedy-appointed majority. And even then, if the law under which the FCC now operates is unchanged, the Commission will have little leverage on network performance.

Then there is always the Congress. But remember that over 10 percent of the legislators, or members of their immediate families, own a share in one or more stations, thus having a vested interest in perpetuating the FCC's traditional distaste for effective regulation. Many others are extremely receptive to the views of local station owners who are often among the most influential citizens in their communities. In addition, few legislators fail to appreciate the value of a readily available broadcasting facility for reaching their constituents – nor will they lose sight of the fact that the degree of such availability just might depend on the degree to which they share the station owner's views.

This may be too harsh a view of the Congress. We shall see. "The Commission," in Mr. Minow's words, "has recommended to the Congress the enactment of legislation which provides for the direct regulation of network policies, practices and activities which may adversely affect the ability of broadcast licensees to operate their stations in the public interest." Bills to accomplish this have been introduced. But no hearings have been held. None has been called.

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Report on the Economy

The Patient Is Better, But Not Well

by Helen Hill Miller

It was not then visible, but beneath the snows of February, recovery was stirring. The recession of 1960 proved shallow. The economy is on the upgrade again. Today's question is not the one that bothered economists through the early months of this year – "is the slump over?"; it concerns the possibility that, in the recent words of the majority of the Congressional Joint Committee on the Economic Report, "while the economy is expected to run faster, it will run only fast enough to stand still."

Some of the causes for this concern are:

In May, a million jobs opened up, bringing total civilian employment to 66.6 million. *But this job total was still 400,000 less than a year ago, and for the sixth straight month the seasonally adjusted rate of unemployment stuck at about the same level – 6.9 percent of the work force.* The number whose joblessness had lasted 15 weeks or more, though down, was 1.9 million, a postwar high for May; and of these, some 900,000 had been unsuccessfully looking for work for more than half a year. Among the employed, 2.8 million nonfarm workers were involuntarily working only part-time; this was half a million more than in May, 1960.

Between March and May, the index of industrial production rose briskly from 102.4 to 108.2, with the economic activity of 1957 taken as 100. The change reflected an upturn of unexpected proportions in both steel and autos. But in these and practically all other industries, unutilized capacity is still plentiful, and observers doubt that the rise in steel and autos signifies a trend even in those industries.

A turnabout in business inventory is now stimulating demand; in the fourth quarter of 1960, inventories were shrinking at an annual rate of $3 billion a year; now they are accumulating again. But as long as unused capacity to produce is prevalent, suppliers can meet orders rapidly; users, knowing this, are correspondingly disinclined to tie up their money in inventories beyond their short-term needs. There is none of the pressure to squirrel away scarce materials that characterized the time of Korea or the war and postwar period. Only a sudden change in consumer demand, requiring inventories where none now exist, could cause a comparable flurry of accumulation. If inventories build up at an annual rate of $4-5 billion in 1961, the total turnaround, and the consequent stimulus to the economy, will be about $8-10 billion as compared to $50-75 billion in the 1955-56 boom. During the last steel strike, business learned a good bit about how to operate on slender supplies, and recent adoption of improved methods of inventory control may well have permanently decreased the ratio of inventory to sales on which most companies will operate. Moreover, the larger the total economy, the smaller the fraction represented by inventories, and hence the smaller the lift obtained from a turnaround.

The country's Gross National Product (GNP) of goods and services in 1960 averaged just over a half trillion dollars ($503.2 billion), though it slumped from an annual rate of $506.3 billion in the second quarter to $495.5 in the first quarter of 1961. But the Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, Walter W. Heller, has pointed out that if the economy had been operating at a rate requiring reasonably full utilization of available men and resources, its output would have provided goods and services equivalent to an additional $500 per family in the US.

So the economic situation as of the end of June was getting better, but was not too good.

As to prospects for the rest of 1961 and early 1962, economic analysts are in unusual unanimity: three out of four suggest a fourth-quarter Gross National Product of between $525 and $535 billion; probably half of the important forecasts cluster closely around the $530 billion mark. A canvass of the forecasters suggests that their earlier opinions influence their prophecies in a curious way: those who last November foretold a figure in the $525-530 billion range look on current events as an expansion that is so orderly as probably to be insufficient; those who then suggested a $518-520 billion GNP note some strength in the recovery; those who a few months ago couldn't see much beyond $512 billion are now worried lest inflation be just around the corner.

But if a fourth-quarter product of around $530 billion is all that is in sight, the present pickup is proceeding at nothing like the speed that would be required to

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reach reasonably full employment any time soon. In the two past recoveries there has been an increase in real production of something over 10 percent in the course of the year following the first quarter after the recession reached its trough. If this same 10 percent were to hold good, and counting the current trough as the first quarter of 1961, the Gross National Product should reach $565 billion by this time next year. Such a prospect makes the fear of inflation seem tenuous.

In the latter 1950's, the economy grew at an average rate of some 3.5 percent a year. But this mild growth rate, smaller than at most periods of recent history and much smaller than that of most industrial nations at present, has to be shared among increasing numbers of people. For the population bulge is spilling new workers into the market at accelerated rates. For the past several years, the overall year-to-year increase in the labor force has been of the order of 750,000. This year 200,000 extra 18-year-olds have just graduated and are looking for jobs; they will show up in the next unemployment figures. The total labor force will increase by about 1¼ million. During the 1960's, 26 million new young people will start their work careers – close to 40 percent more than entered the job market in the 50's.

And since it takes an average investment of at least $8,000 to tool up the economy for an additional worker, $10 billion of any 1961 increase in GNP will be absorbed in just keeping level with population growth.

Government-Induced Demand

Moreover, during the pickup now in progress there will almost certainly be a considerable increase in production before there is much decrease in unemployment: in recovery periods, a rebound of production per man always shows itself. Because of present underutilization of staff, many white-collar workers, from clerks to salesmen, employed by the month as part of the overhead carried even when a firm is operating at 50 percent of capacity, will now be busier, and many blue-collar hourly workers will be employed for fuller work weeks, before furloughed employees are recalled or new ones added. In steel plants, the furnaces already hot will be used to capacity before new ones are opened up; on railroads, freight trains will be longer. If increased demand were on a scale to induce full employment within a year, a rise of perhaps $75-100 billion in the GNP would be necessary; this has never been seen in a non-war situation.

This time, such improvement in demand as is in sight is expected to be government-induced. And that is something different, for in the last two recessions, the private consumer was the economic hero. It was he whose purchases – well-sustained as other indicators fell, and then accelerated in purchases of new cars, houses and appliances – pushed the curve of production up again. But in the 60's, particularly with regard to these items, the consumer seems to be a creature of modest desires, so coy that his entrance into a subdivision, an auto showroom or a discount house is a signal for flocks of underemployed salesmen to leap forward.

The consumer's reluctance is softening the whole economy. When his checkbook is used this sparingly, the spring goes out of the wage-price spiral. Where in the 1950's labor and management could look at each other across the bargaining table with the tacit understanding that a wage increase could be passed through the price mechanism and paid by the consumer, doubts as to the feasibility of such a tactic are likely to hold this year's wage increases close to the long-term trend line of 2.5-3 percent.

So the strength of stimulants supplied by government, and the speed of their effect, are being meticulously scrutinized: to what extent will they move the economy forward, as Mr. Kennedy said it must, and so prove wrong the current forecasts of insufficiency?

Again, there is fairly general consensus that many of the federal expenditures newly authorized or induced by this year's legislation are slow starters. It is true that more purchasing power of the type likely to pass quickly into consumption has been put in the hands of lower-income groups by the minimum-wage increase, additional unemployment compensation, supplemental social security and a speed-up in veterans insurance payments. And while some of the additional defense funds are for types of military procurement that *will* spread purchasing power broadly, the bulk of them are specialized: their chief effect will be further to inflate the salaries of engineers and high-powered mathematicians.

Highway construction will continue to be pushed, but federal road-building is moving along about as rapidly as it can.

Proposals for a tax credit to stimulate business investments are still in the formative stage; it looks as though the $1.7 billion tax credit proposed by the Administration specifically for businesses engaged in modernization of plant and equipment – the country's machine tools are getting older and older – will be converted by business opposition into an across-the-board tax credit.

Next year, housing ought to be materially strengthened by this year's Congressional enactments, but in an industry that in most parts of the country is closely bound to the seasons, major expansion is unlikely.

Similarly, it may be the middle of next year before rural, distressed area and urban development plans reach the bulldozer stage. (Incidentally, political problems regarding the delineation of boundaries are afflicting distressed area redevelopment; particularly where there is likelihood of a work force being moved

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out of an area, Congressmen are on the alert.)

Among types of public construction, schools might give the biggest economic fillip.

In this connection, the figures in the chart below are worth noting. For the past several years, the view has been prevalent on the economic left as well as on the economic right that the public sector of the economy is the one which, proportionately, needs greater expansion. The market for consumer durables connected with family living has become increasingly a replacement market – a better house instead of the old one, a trade-in deal on the car or refrigerator – rather than a first-time buy. But the demand for durables connected with community living, from schools and colleges to recreation areas and municipal centers to hospitals to urban amenities, is pressingly unfilled. Normally, purchases for such facilities are made to government account, not out of private pocketbooks.

Yet for all this talk, as the GNP has grown since the mid-50's, the government slice has not widened. The proportion of goods and services purchased through state and local expenditures is up somewhat, but that absorbed by federal outlays is down. Public durable goods are not being created at greatly increased rates, and production of private durable goods is down. Recently, more and more of the country's money has gone into the purchase of services.

There is wide agreement among economists on the prospects for 1961 and early 1962, but their longer-range estimates are far less similar. This is apparent when one reviews the dialogues among economists.

One dialogue centers on the nature of unemployment. New figures, compiled under the last Administration but not released until this year, are available on who the unemployed are. The argument is over how much of current joblessness is of a kind that an adequate increase in demand would promptly cure, or, how much of it is "structural" unemployment in which a worker's skill has been rendered obsolete by automation, as in the motor-car industry; or by invention and introduction of new machines, as in mining; or by the substitution of electronic computers for clerical workers in offices from banks to insurance companies.

If unemployment is due primarily to lack of demand, something needs to be done for the economy; but if a large amount of it is "structural," something needs to be done for the person: vocational retraining and in some cases relocation will be necessary before his unemployment is ended, even if demand becomes brisk.

Judgment on this issue of the nature of our unemployment affects one's conclusions as to the percentage of unemployment which must be regarded as normal – and hence, at least for the present, "acceptable." In past years, a rate of 3 percent of the labor force has been taken to indicate the number of people between jobs at a given moment, whose unemployment can be assumed to be highly temporary, and that of workers who for a variety of reasons don't hold jobs for very long. Currently, the CEA is using a 4 percent rate as acceptable. Disagreements as to the validity of that

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT

1955-1960 [Expressed in 1960 prices]

(Percent of total GNP)

Item	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
Gross national product	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Personal consumption expenditures	62.7	63.4	63.9	65.7	65.1	65.1
Durable goods	9.3	8.8	8.7	8.2	8.8	8.7
Nondurable goods	29.9	30.4	30.4	31.2	30.4	30.3
Services	23.5	24.2	24.8	26.3	25.8	26.2
Gross private domestic investment	16.6	16.2	14.9	12.7	14.9	14.5
New construction	9.1	8.5	8.2	8.1	8.4	8.0
Producers' durable equipment	6.1	6.6	6.4	5.1	5.3	5.7
Change in business inventories	1.5	1.1	.3	−.6	1.2	.7
Net exports of goods and services	.4	.8	1.1	.2	−.2	.6
Government purchases of goods and services	20.2	19.6	20.1	21.4	20.3	19.8
Federal	12.2	11.4	11.6	12.2	11.2	10.4
State and local	8.0	8.1	8.4	9.2	9.1	9.4

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rate involve labor, the CEA and the Federal Reserve.

The present Chairman of the CEA, Mr. Heller, and one of his predecessors under President Eisenhower, Mr. Arthur Burns, have been engaged in an exchange that is also echoed in the majority and minority statements of the Joint Economic Committee's commentary on the January, 1961, Economic Report of the President. Mr. Burns questions the analysis by which the present CEA measures the "gap" between actual and potential GNP. His argument is technical, concerning the base periods used for calculation; it suggests that the actual gap is less than the CEA says. If Mr. Burns is right, if the gap were materially less than estimated, government stimulants to economic activity might run the danger of building up inflationary pressures.

The Council, in response, denies that it is falling into a "gap-trap" and insists that "our "prescription for acceleration of growth has been consistent and clear: it calls for a high-investment economy, a high-research economy, a high-education economy."

(On the high-education point, Mr. Heller has suggested that less than half the country's increased output and potential output in the 20th Century has been due to man-hours worked and the capital investment back of each worker. He cites one analysis to the effect that while the country's stock of reproducible physical capital has increased four to five times, the stock of education embodied in the American work force has increased almost nine times, and concludes that it would be well "to broaden our concept of social 'capital' beyond bricks and mortar, to include investment in such insubstantial things as education and training, and the stock of useful knowledge.")

Putting on the Brakes Too Soon

A third area of controversy concerns the extent to which, by the middle of 1962, stimulus to the economy based on rising demand, plus the stimulus of currently-enacted government programs at the stage of their greatest impact, may cause inflation; or whether, alternatively, new attention needs to be given to prevent premature braking of the recovery as it reaches its upper levels.

Most economists agree – here Mr. Burns and the present CEA are in accord – that the recovery of 1958-60 was checked by government policies of restraint applied too sharply and too soon. The brakes were of two sorts: the monetary restraints applied through the Federal Reserve system, and the rapid turnaround of the federal cash budget from a deficit in 1959 to a surplus in 1960. Federal corporate income tax receipts vary so sensitively with the economic curve that a shift from a position in which the Treasury pumps money into the economy through deficit financing to a position in which it draws money out through larger receipts and a budget surplus, is automatic and rapid.

These considerations bring familiar protagonists of political economy and pure politics onto center stage: what will be the attitudes of the Federal Reserve, the Treasury, the CEA, the President? The resignation of Mr. M. S. Szymczak from the Federal Reserve Board gave the President his first opportunity to name a new member of that body. Since each member is a potential Chairman – Mr. William McChesney Martin's term as Chairman expires in 1963 – Mr. George W. Mitchell's attitude will tell us something about the President's attitude. So far, in testimony on the Hill and elsewhere, great politeness has been shown among the three chief sources of economic initiative. Mr. Heller, at the Joint Economic Committee's international hearings, discreetly refused to be drawn into comment on Mr. Martin, though occasionally he winked; and Mr. Dillon, though he has been before Congress on 27 separate occasions since January, has persistently indicated that he has no quarrels with the Federal Reserve Board.

But beneath the surface, preliminary jockeying for Presidential support, directly and via intermediaries as remote as the US Ambassador to India, is going on. The prize in the next race in which the top horses compete is for determination of the policy that will guide the federal budget for fiscal year 1963, preparation for which starts in the early autumn and reaches a climax in December and early January.

So far, the President appears to be betting across the board. He has no favorites. Yet, in general, he has said the right things about economic growth. He said them during the campaign; he said them in his press conference of June 26.

In comparing the growth of the Soviet Union and the American economy, he affirmed:

> "If our growth rate is increased to even 4.5 percent, which is well within our capability, it is my judgment that the Soviet Union will not out-produce the United States at any time in the 20th Century. This faster growth rate is a primary object of the various measures I have submitted and will submit in the future. . . ."

But how can the growth rate be raised to 4.5 percent? On whose advice will Mr. Kennedy gamble? The stable of Presidential advisers has within it thoroughbreds who differ in predilections. As they make their way with purposeful nonchalance toward preferred places at the post, they are unanimous on one point: a cross-bred horse makes a poor runner – comfortable and at times inevitable as cross-breeding may be in politics. Each cherishes the private hope that he will be the President's favorite; each firmly believes that the country's money will be lost if placed on any other horse.

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An Old Shocker Comes Home

by Stanley Kauffmann

Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* is now published in this country in an unlavish edition of 318 pages set in big type at a price of $7.50 – and this in spite of a large first printing. The interest of the price is that here it relates to the content of the book – not, as is usual, to its length or format. The publisher knows

Tropic of Cancer
by Henry Miller
(Grove; $7.50)

that the public knows the book's reputation and is willing to pay much more than is currently charged for books of similar production cost. This gives, from the start, a different atmosphere to its publication. Rather than call it cashing in on prurience, let us say that the publisher is asking the purchaser to make a contribution to a defense fund in case of legal prosecution, although no provision is made for refunding, say, three dollars per copy if the publisher is unmolested.

The book itself, first issued in 1934 in Paris (in English) is an autobiographical first novel recounting the experiences, sensations, thoughts of Miller, a penniless American in the Paris of the early thirties. It is not so much a novel as an intense journal, written daily about what was happening to him daily, full of emotion recollected in proximity, as he scrounged for food, devoured books, conversed volubly, and flung himself into numerous beds. It is formless, in the sense that it could have continued indefinitely, but then Miller is an enemy of form. He writes of a Ravel composition:

> "Suddenly it all died down. It was as if [Ravel] remembered, in the midst of his antics, that he had on a cutaway suit. He arrested himself. A great mistake, in my humble opinion. Art consists in going the full length. If you start with the drums you have to end with the dynamite, or TNT. Ravel sacrificed something for form, for a vegetable that people must digest before going to bed."

The "full length" is Miller's ideal. Frankness of fact and devotion to truth are not always concurrent, but Miller has, within his powers, both of these. He says on an early page: "There is only one thing which interests me vitally now, and that is the recording of all that which is omitted in books."

He had been a husband and a hireling in various jobs in New York and elsewhere, always a hungry reader with literary ambitions, when at 39 he broke loose and, without money, went alone to Paris to write. He swore he would never take a job again. In fact he takes two in this book – as a proofreader on the Paris *Tribune* and as an English teacher in Dijon. But the point was made – he had broken away.

Essentially that is what the book is: a mirror-image of the testimony which is given at revival meetings. There you can hear about men who got right with God; this man got right with art and sex and the use of his brain and time. Like all converts, he is on fire. Like all converts, he simply will not leave your lapels alone. Thus he is a bit tedious. Because he came fairly late in life to a personally valid ethic, he cannot believe that anyone he talks to has ever done it before him.

The book is a fierce celebration of his enlightened freedom, which is to say his acceptance of real responsibilities instead of merely respectable ones. But in the course of this paean he exhorts us mercilessly with such discoveries as: sex can be fun; America is commercialized and doomed; civilization must refurbish its values or perish. (Edmund Wilson has called the book "an epitaph for the whole generation that migrated to Europe after the war.") All this now suffers, of course, from the passage of time. These burning messages have been the commonplaces of novelists, most of them inferior to Miller, for at least a couple of decades. But could these views have been startling even in 1934? This was eight years after the publication of a much more widely read novel of Americans in Paris, *The Sun Also Rises*. Hemingway is as unlike Miller as is imaginable in temperament, but surely the new liberty and the dark apocalypse are in his book.

How Miller rages at us. And what is his chief complaint? That we are not like him, living like him, desiring and perceiving like him. A prime function of art is criticism, and if the artist in question has merit, he certainly *is* a superior person and modest coughs are out of order. But the smuggest bourgeois has no smugness like that of the self-consciously liberated bohemian. It tainted Gauguin and D. H. Lawrence; it infects Miller.

He is often compared to Whitman, which must please him because he thinks Whitman "that one lone figure which America has produced in the course of her brief life" (despite the fact that he began by worshipping Dreiser). There is considerable basis for the comparison, especially in attitude. Miller sees no democratic vistas and certainly does *not* hear America singing, but he, too, is a buddy of the uni-

Summer Schedule

During the summer months, *The New Republic* will not appear on the following dates:

July 17 July 31
August 14 August 28

Weekly publication will be resumed with the issue dated September 4.

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verse and privy to its secrets, calling on the rest of us to be as open-shirted and breeze-breasting as himself. Also there is in Miller, although on a much lower level than in Whitman, a feeling of settled iconoclasm, of artistic revolt made stock-in-trade. There are attempts at bardic sweep, some of them successful, and there is Whitmanesque rejoicing in the smack of wine and flesh.

Sometimes Miller uses language stupidly (he calls Paris "more eternal" than Rome). Sometimes, as in the rhapsody on Matisse, he writes a symbolist poem with a heat that carries us across its weaker passages. Or he can transmute sensation into images that propagate like guppies. For example, one day, broke and hungry, he finds a concert-ticket and uses it.

> "My mind is curiously alert; it's as though my skull had a thousand mirrors inside it. My nerves are taut, vibrant! the notes are like glass balls dancing on a million jets of water. I've never been to a concert before on such an empty belly. Nothing escapes me, not even the tiniest pin falling. It's as though I had no clothes on and every pore of my body was a window and all the windows open and the light flooding my gizzards. I can feel the light curving under the vault of my ribs and my ribs hang there over a hollow nave trembling with reverberations. How long this lasts I have no idea; I have lost all sense of time and place. After what seems like an eternity there follows an interval of semi-consciousness balanced by such a calm that I feel a great lake inside me, a lake of iridescent sheen, cool as jelly; and over this lake, rising in great swooping spirals, there emerge flocks of birds of passage with long slim legs and brilliant plumage. Flock after flock surge up from the cool, still surface of the lake and, passing under my clavicles, lose themselves in the white sea of space. And then slowly, very slowly, as if an old woman in a white cap were going the rounds of my body, slowly the windows are closed and my organs drop back into place."

I have quoted this at length because it is a good cross-section of his style. "The tiniest pin" and "after what seems an eternity" are careless spewing; but the "old woman in a white cap" is orphic.

This is Miller. Narrative is not his forte; his characterizations are sketchy; his philosophy is jejune. It is in pressing his whole existence against the warm wax of his prose and leaving there its complete imprint that he is at his best – in following every quiver of sentience to its source or destination with phrases that sometimes add up to a gorgeous fabric. Karl Shapiro, in an introductory essay streaked with gibberish, says that "everything [Miller] has written is a poem in the best as well as in the broadest sense of the word." This is a sentimental and foolishly inclusive judgment, but it points in the right direction.

Shapiro says that Miller writes with "complete ease and naturalness" about sex, as Lawrence and Joyce did not. To me, there is (speaking only of this book) much less sex than bravado. As far as specific language is concerned, Lawrence thought there was something thaumaturgic in four-letter words and had Mellors speak them therapeutically. Joyce wrote down the words that his miraculous surgery of the psyche revealed. Miller employs them – mostly *outside* of dialogue – to demonstrate somewhat ostentatious emancipation and contempt for slaves of convention.

Anyway, to talk about complete naturalness in the use of those words by a member of our society is arrant nonsense. The only person who could use them completely naturally would be a mental defective unaware of taboos. The foulest-mouthed longshoremen knows that he is using naughty words and is wallowing in them. Miller uses them in an exultation very much like that of a college boy away from home for the first time.

Proof of his lack of naturalness about it lies in his avoidance of earthy language when he talks about his great love, Mona. Virtually every other girl in the book, well or lightly regarded, is referred to at some time or other as a c – – t. Making Mona an exception seems to show not only some residual puritanism but exhibitionism in the other cases. In fact, before one is far along in the book, the plentiful four-letter words become either irritating or tiresome. I thought of Robert Graves' remark that in the British Army the adjective "f – – – ing" has come to mean only a signal that a noun is approaching.

Lawrence Durrell, no more reluctant than numerous other foreigners to tell Americans what their best works are, says that "American literature today begins and ends with the meaning of what [Miller] has done." Further: "To read *Tropic of Cancer* is to understand how shockingly romantic all European writing after Rousseau has become." (Durrell, of all artists, must know that "romantic" is a qualitative not a pejorative term.) These statements are typical of the – to me – inflated praise that this book has evoked. I hazard a couple of guesses at extrinsic reasons for this. First, when a gifted man writes a prosecutable book, it is often over-lauded as a tactical move by those interested in the freedom of letters – especially those who hold that sex is Beautiful, not sexy. Second, possibly these statements are, as much as anything else, a tribute to Miller's purity of commitment, to his abhorrence of the pietisms of Literature and the proprieties of the Literary Life, to his willingness – if not downright eagerness – to suffer for the right to live and write as he chooses. His is no small spirit; it is just not as large as some have told us.

Here, then, is his first novel, available (*pro tem*, at least) in his own country 27 years after its publication abroad. Durrell believes that this place is next to *Moby Dick*, which seems to me a hurtful thing to say about a frisky minnow of a book that ought not to be compared with leviathans. Far from being "the jewel and nonpareil" of American literature (Durrell again),

"THE PURPOSE OF *the United States' embargo against Cuba is, through the use of economic pressures, to slow down the program of Stakhanovite socialists whose ideological lust is consuming the people's freedom, and the hemisphere's peace. The embargo either is, or isn't, a serious policy decision. If not, it is simply an act of national petulance, and should be repealed. If it is serious, if the United States seriously intends to inhibit the Cuban economic machine, we should be prepared to act consistently, even if to do so is un-Kennedy.*"

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Miller cannot be put near such 20th-Century novelists as Dreiser, Fitzgerald, early Dos Passos, early Hemingway – let alone Faulkner – without unfair diminution.

This book belongs, modestly but securely, in the American tradition of profundity-through-deliberate-simplicities that has its intellectual roots in Thoreau and continues through such men as Whitman and Sherwood Anderson until, in a changed time, it thinks it needs to go abroad to breathe. Miller stands under his Paris street-lamp, defiantly but genially drunk, trolling his catch mixed of beauty and banality and recurrent bawdry – a little pathetic because he thinks he is a discoverer and doesn't realize that he is only a tourist on a well-marked tour. We see him at last as an appealingly zestful, voracious, talented hick.

A Treasure for the Future

by Irving Kristol

One can comfortably review a paragraph by Hannah Arendt; to review a page is within reach of the reasonable; to review an essay is a formidable assignment; but a collection of six essays – no, I cannot honestly pretend to review this book. I can give it as my opinion that Miss Arendt is one of the most

Between Past and Future:
Six Exercises in Political Thought
by Hannah Arendt
(Viking; $5)

brilliant and original of living political philosophers (which I do herewith). I can urge everyone to buy the book and ponder it. That brings me near the end of my tether.

The sub-title, however, may be misleading. Miss Arendt writes with passion and urgency, and she is a woman of strong political opinions. But she isn't a political thinker in this book. She is that more valuable thing, a political philosopher. If politics is the art of the possible, then political thinking is the fusion of abstract idea with gross circumstance; it is directed and limited by political commitment. In contrast, political philosophy is (or ought to be) located at a distant remove from mere opinion: it is the contemplation of man as a political animal. It stands to political activity much as the philosophy of science stands to scientific activity: its comprehension is *post facto*, and when it is tempted to be prescriptive, it falls into presumption. True, Miss Arendt is not always immune to this temptation. Her last two essays, on American Education and Mass Culture, are full of marvellous insights into education and culture generally; yet, heedless of the crude perplexities that the educator or the journalist has to face, they are less relevant than she seems to think. But this is a trivial lapse.

Indeed, it is a lapse that may well be organically connected with her special qualities and unique virtue as a political philosopher. A former student of Karl Jaspers, she has absorbed much of the existentialist approach toward men and ideas. It is a highly dramatic approach: philosophical ideas have for her the unfathomableness, the ambiguity, the unpredictability of the protagonists in a play by Sartre. At the same time, she is obviously much under the influence of classical German philosophy and of the later Heidegger. Thus, there is throughout these essays a tension between an almost uncanny (and exceedingly feminine) percipience and a noble, elevated (and exceedingly masculine) architectonic of ideas. I find this combination a powerful one, and so apparently do many other readers.

Miss Arendt has another source of great strength: her appreciation of the Graeco-Roman point of view, which in turn enables her to discern what it is in modernity that is specifically modern as against generically human. Her essays, at their best, liberate us from prejudices and preconceptions that we are not even aware we possess. One is not accustomed to discovering that an essay on "What Is Freedom?" will say something new on the subject; Miss Arendt's essay of that title is spectacularly original and provocative. This is because, instead of taking our modern

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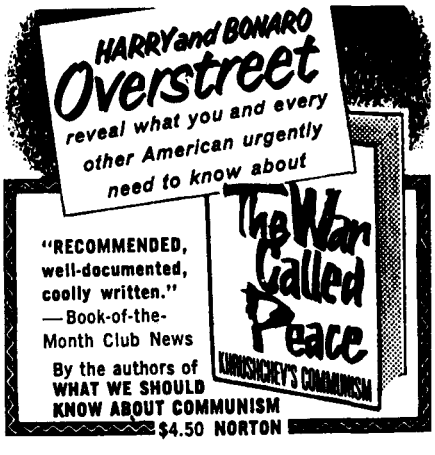
liberal notion of liberty as given, and reading the human record in its light, she recaptures the Greek notion as the Greeks understood it, reestablishes it as a compelling human alternative, and then shows how the peculiar and parochial modern idea evolved. Nor is this an academic exercise (though I should say one needs some academic training in order to follow her argument). For Miss Arendt is convinced that liberty, in the modern sense, is a dying ideal, and her purpose is to remind us that the death of the liberal idea of liberty need not signify the death of liberty itself – if only we instruct ourselves, in time, of the varieties of liberty that are (in principle, at least) open to us.

Indeed, Miss Arendt is convinced that modernity itself is a dying theme, that our century is more apocalyptic than "progressive" in character. She is the Owl of Minerva (no ungallantry intended by this Hegelian metaphor!) come at dusk to gather into a supreme moment of self-consciousness and self-understanding the inchoate self-knowledge of the passing day. It is in her essay, "What Is Authority?", that her classical perspective and her apocalyptic sensibility unite most forcefully. Beginning with the crisis of authority in the modern world – of governmental authority, religious authority, parental authority, etc. – she distinguishes between tyranny, despotism, and autority; demonstrates that the Greeks had neither the word nor the conception of it; that the Romans, with their superb piety toward the founding fathers ("authors"), invented it for the West; that Augustine formulated it for the Church; that the Church's idea of authority became the archetype for authority *per se;* that the shattering of religious authority has caused the whole edifice to crumble – but there I am trying to summarize the essay when I have already said this is impossible. A reviewer must of necessity be timid about venturing such a judgment but I do think that the future (if there is one) will very likely treasure this essay as one of the remarkable intellectual achievements of our age.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The Election in Retrospect

by Helen Fuller

In 1932, H. L. Mencken rode the B&O from Baltimore to Chicago to view American politicians meeting at the summit. *Making a President* was his personal report on how the Democratic and Republican national conventions came to give the country a choice between Hoover and FDR that year.

Although Mencken's volume today seems more opinionated than prescient, it is still one of my favorites for the sharp sense of the political moment it conveys. No one until Theodore White in *The Making of the President* has achieved the same effect for me.

Mr. White's report on the 1960 election is far more ambitious and perceptive than Mencken's picture of 1932. Instead of enduring a mere two weeks in steaming Chicago, Mr. White spent more than a year pursuing all seven of the serious aspirants to the Presidency across the whole United States to get his story – beginning with the first primaries in New Hampshire and Wisconsin and continuing through Inauguration Day, and into the White House. And instead of sharing Mencken's scorn of politics and politicians, White is in love with them.

The Making of a President
by Theodore H. White
(Atheneum; $6.95)

It is this last quality, perhaps, which makes the oft-told tale of the last election exciting reading all over again. The book is rich in details and anecdotes which will be new even to candidates and correspondents who were there – but lacked the leisure White had to converse and observe. (During the imbroglio over the Vice-Presidential nomination in Los Angeles, White tells us, ". . . Johnson put through a call to John Nance Garner, another Texan who had been chosen as running mate to another Harvard man almost 30 years before in just such circumstances. 'I'll tell you, Lyndon,' the sage of Uvalde is reported to have remarked . . . 'the Vice-Presidency isn't worth a pitcher of warm spit'.")

In addition to the full story of what all the contenders in both parties said and did at almost every dramatic moment during the campaign, there is analysis of the opposing strategies, including this explanation of one of the most important decisions:

> "Thirty-five million Americans watched on their television sets as John F. Kennedy accepted the call of his party in Los Angeles . . .
>
> "Across the continent in Washington, D. C., Vice-President Richard M. Nixon had decided that the time had come for him to watch his rival in action on the television screen. He therefore invited two intimates of his campaign to his home to watch and measure the performance of the enemy. The three sat rapt, then content, then pleased. The rapid delivery, the literary language of the speech, the obvious exhaustion of the Democratic candidate, the mechanical flaws inherent in an open-air telecast from a camera one hundred feet away in uncontrolled conditions, all combined to invite in them a sense of combative good feeling. The Vice-President offered the remark that he thought it had been a bad performance, way over people's heads, too fast. *He could take this man on TV* [italics mine] – so he felt."

And there is speculation on the meaning of Kennedy's victory:

> "The fact that he succeeded at all is, in retrospect more startling than the

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JULES FEIFFER

SO MOMMA AND I GOT ON THIS BUS TO GO TO THE COUNTRY AND SUDDENLY A BUNCH OF COLORED PEOPLE GOT ON AND WE WERE SURROUNDED BY POLICEMEN AND WE ALL GOT ARRESTED.

MOMMA **TRIED** TO TELL THE POLICEMEN WE WERE ONLY GOING TO THE COUNTRY BUT ALL THE COLORED PEOPLE WERE SINGING "**WE SHALL OVERCOME**" SO THE POLICEMEN COULDN'T HEAR US.

SO AFTER DADDY GOT US OUT OF JAIL MOMMA AND I WENT TO GET A **SANDWICH** IN A **DRUGSTORE** BEFORE WE TRIED AGAIN TO GO TO THE COUNTRY-AND SUDDENLY A BUNCH OF COLORED PEOPLE WERE SITTING ON STOOLS ALL AROUND US AND WE WERE SURROUNDED BY POLICEMEN AND WE ALL GOT ARRESTED.

MOMMA **TRIED** TO TELL THE POLICEMEN WE WERE ONLY TRYING TO **EAT** AND **GO TO THE COUNTRY** BUT ALL THE COLORED PEOPLE WERE SINGING "**WE SHALL OVERCOME**" SO THE POLICEMEN COULDN'T HEAR US.

SO AFTER DADDY GOT US OUT OF JAIL WE **RENTED** A CAR TO THE COUNTRY AND MOMMA WAS SO RELIEVED THAT BEFORE EVEN **UNPACKING** SHE TOOK ME DOWN TO THE BEACH TO RELAX AND SUN BATHE AND SUDDENLY A BUNCH OF COLORED PEOPLE WERE SUN BATHING ALL AROUND US AND THE POLICEMEN CAME AND WE ALL GOT ARRESTED.

MOMMA **TRIED** TO TELL THE POLICEMEN WE WERE ONLY TRYING TO SUN BATHE BUT ALL THE COLORED PEOPLE AND ME WERE SINGING "**WE SHALL OVERCOME**" SO THEY TOOK US TO JAIL.

I DON'T MIND THE COLORED PEOPLE BUT I WISH THEY'D LEAVE THEIR POLICEMEN HOME.

7-9

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narrowness of his margin. He had, of course, the entire future to himself – no other Republican candidate has ever so willfully conceded so vast an area to a Democratic opponent without struggle. But his problem was fantastic nonetheless. For politics is the slow public application of reason to the governing of mass emotion. And it is rare that reason can reach an entire people without clarification by disaster – such as the disaster of the depression in America in 1932, or defeat in battle of the Germans in 1945. Kennedy spoke to a peaceful and prosperous people in the year 1960, a people for whom the crises of swelling problems lay still unclear years ahead. He insisted that they must move to meet those obscure crises – which he did not define – and urged them to give into his untested hands the greatest of all crises, war and peace, without ever telling them how he meant to meet it. It was on this above all that he won – a sense of purpose, in a year of malaise; a sense of confidence, in a future that darkened."

The faults I find in Mr. White's book are ones of omission, necessitated by the need to switch back and forth between candidates in mid-swing, and of his "personal reading" of some secondary events – both, as he points out in a note, inevitable in this kind of contemporary report, where even those intimately involved often differ about what really happened at a given moment. On the whole, however, I suspect that White has come closer to the true story than those at the center of the web will come when memoir-writing time rolls round.

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RECORDS

An Orchestral Potpourri

As against those who have wanted from the reproduction of a record the closest approximation to the blended sound of an orchestra in the concert hall, Stravinsky values instead the clear definition and the accurately proportioned dynamic values in texture that the record can give and the concert hall cannot – his example being the recording of a Bach arioso that enabled him to hear for the first time "the lute, the violas d'amore and the continuo distinguished proportionally with the bass voice." This "balanced acoustical reproduction" that is made possible by microphones is one of the things – the others presumably being tempo and phrasing – that a recording can establish for the composer as "a 'record', a document of his wishes respecting his own music"; and so "for the contemporary composer a phonograph record is as real a value as the score it interprets." The recordings Stravinsky has been making of his works have been such documents of his wishes; but their value is not merely that the performances they offer are authoritative but that they are effective, and in fact more effective than any others. Each time that Monteux has recorded *Le Sacre du Printemps*, reviewers have cited the fact that he conducted the first performances of the work as establishing the unique authority and effectiveness of his recorded performance; and as it happens Stravinsky has written his approval of those first Monteux performances; but if one plays Monteux's recorded performance and then Stravinsky's one is struck by the tension and power in Stravinsky's that are not in Monteux's (however one performance comparable with Stravinsky's in this respect is Markevitch's on Angel 35549 – but not the stereo version, which is unclear). And the fact that Ansermet conducted the early performances of *Petrushka* doesn't keep his recorded performance from being stolid in comparison with Stravinsky's.

Until now we have had the performances of *Le Sacre* and excerpts from *Petrushka* that Stravinsky recorded with the New York Philharmonic years ago; now two records of Columbia D3L-300 (mono) and D3S-614) give us *Le Sacre* and all of *Petrushka* recorded with a good studio orchestra – superbly clear, energetic and powerful performances excellently reproduced (but one of the two copies I heard of the stereo version of *Le Sacre* had a whistle on part of the second side). One side of a third record has Stravinsky, who is fascinating to listen to, reading his recollections of the composition and the first performances of *Le Sacre;* and one wishes the second side had him reading the similar material about *Petrushka* that is given in the accompanying notes. Also one wishes the records, notes and superb Avedon photograph of Stravinsky had not been put into a plastic case that is in every way a nuisance to handle.

The Royal Hunt and Storm from Berlioz's *The Trojans*, with its lovely opening section that is repeated with marvelous alterations at the end, is performed by Munch with the Boston Symphony on RCA Victor LM and

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LSC-2438, in addition to several Berlioz overtures: *Benvenuto Cellini, Beatrice and Benedict, The Corsair* and the more frequently heard *Roman Carnival*. I have liked very few of Munch's performances, and not all his performances of Berlioz, with whose music he operates best; but he does well with the pieces on these records.

Of Mahler's Fourth Symphony, his most immediately engaging and perhaps his finest instrumental work, we have had one outstandingly good performance, Van Otterloo's with the Hague Philharmonic on Epic LC-3304; now London gives us another on CM-9286 and CS-6217: Solti's with the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra, which offers in addition its superior recorded sound. I like the distance of the Hague Orchestra better than the closeness of the Amsterdam – in particular the excessive closeness of the plucked harps at points in the scherzo movement; but the more faithfully reproduced timbres of the instruments that are heard more clearly in the complex textures would impel me to choose the new performance. Sylvia Stahlman sings the soprano solo in the last movement agreeably.

Copland's Piano Concerto, composed in 1926 and heard very little since then, opens with a long slow build-up of one figure; then comes a fast section with passages of what one might hear played solo by a jazz pianist, clarinetist, trumpeter and trombonist – these being like quotations from jazz performances, quotations which astonish and amuse one with their accuracy but are not integrated by their new context into a large-scale musical organism. The work, then, has interest only as part of the documentation of Copland's development. It is performed well by Earl Wild with the Symphony of the Air under Copland's direction, and takes less than one side of Vanguard VRS-1070 and VSD-2094 – the rest of the record going to Menotti's glib and inconsequential Piano Concerto, which Wild plays under Jorge Mester.

As for standard repertory, Columbia M2L-269 and M2S-618 have Bruno Walter's performance of Schubert's *Unfinished* Symphony with the New York Philharmonic and his performances of Nos. 5 and 9 with a good but apparently smaller recording orchestra. They bring to mind Toscanini's observation, "when Walter comes to something beautiful he melts" – the *Unfinished* being made unsatisfying by the unsteadiness of tempo in the first movement and the excessive slowness of the second, and No. 9 not only by such details of tempo by the lack of vital energy and of the buoyancy and momentum which the third and fourth movements must have. The monophonic sound of No. 9 is thin.

In regrettable contrast with his quiet and elegant playing in the Mendelssohn Violin Concerto on Epic LC-3173, Grumiaux's playing in the new performance with the Amsterdam Concertgebouw under Haitink, on LC-3762 and BC-1120, is turbulent and mannered. Beethoven's two Romances are also on the records.

Of the two new performances of Strauss' *Don Juan* I recommend Von Karajan's with the Vienna Philharmonic, on London CM-9278 and CS-6208, which offer in addition a good performance of Tchaikovsky's *Romeo and Juliet*. Reiner whips up the speed of the fast sections of *Don Juan* excessively, in his performance with the Chicago Symphony on Victor LM and LSC-2462, the result being excessive contrasts between fast and slow. And in his performance of Debussy's *La Mer*, on the same records, the distinctness of the instruments in the complex textures and the fidelity of their reproduction are amazing; but the first movement goes too slowly, and the second rushes too fast in its final build-up and slows down too much after it.

And finally, Von Karajan's performances of Rossini overtures on Angel 35890 and S-35890 have beautiful playing by the Philharmonia Orchestra but don't achieve the ultimate in Rossini style that Toscanini's do, and in this respect are not even as effective as young Pierino Gamba's with the London Symphony on London CM-9147.

B. H. HAGGIN

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Stanley Kauffmann's *books include a novel,* The Philanderer, *which was tried for obscenity and acquitted by a British court.* Irving Kristol *is senior editor of Basic Books.*

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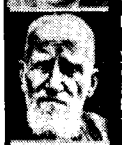

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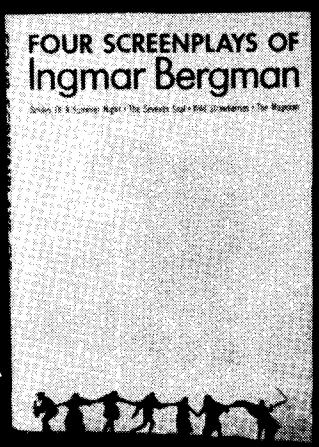

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